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Title: The Return of the Republic: Crowd photography and the Liberation in Toulouse

1944-45

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Abstract

This article shows how the photographs that circulated in the press of the Liberation mobilized republican symbolism in line with local circumstances. In a close analysis of the photography of the Liberation of Toulouse, taken from a corpus of photographs that circulated in the press, commemorative publications, and an exhibition, this article shows that crowd images dominated. It first sets out the background to the theorization of the concept of masses during the late 19th/20th century, and how crowd photography developed across Europe and in France. The discussion then focuses on the three visual crowd themes present in the photographic corpus. These include images of the mass crowd, images of the people's army, and images of individuals in the crowd. The article argues that these photographs carried the unambiguous message that the Republic had returned to power, and suggested that in fulfilling their republican role, the crowds had contributed to their own liberation.

Keywords: the French Republic, crowd photography, Dieuzaide, Liberation of France, the masses, Toulouse

Biography: Hanna Diamond is Professor of French in the School of Modern Languages at Cardiff University. Her work revolves around the social and cultural history of France during the Second World War. She has published widely on the period including two monographs: *Women and the Second World War in France* (Longman 1999) and *Fleeing Hitler: France 1940* (OUP, 2007). She is interested in visual and textual source materials particularly photography and testimony. She is currently writing about how these sources inform historical understandings of this period both in digital and curatorial contexts.

Figures: there are 7 Figures –see accompanying file. Permission to publish needs to be confirmed where appropriate.

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The Return of the Republic: Crowd photography and the Liberation in Toulouse 1944-45

The Liberation in France was memorialised immediately from the time of its initial reporting and a variety of medias sought to narrate events via written and visual means. Photography, in particular, played a significant role in portraying events both in the press and in the many exhibitions which were held in major cities in the weeks following the Liberation.¹ There were common themes to these visual depictions of the Liberation which always gave a strong emphasis to the actions of the Resistance but they varied on a local level in line with the ways events played out differently across the country. While in some areas the Resistance became engaged in pitched battles with the Germans as, for example, in Paris or Marseille, in others, like Toulouse, the occupiers withdrew of their own accord and the resistance played a relatively minor role. Local photographers were often able to capture powerful images which chronicled events as they unfolded and these were circulated regionally during and after events by the newly established Liberation press. These photographs invariably became central to the way the Liberation was projected and understood in these local contexts. In Marseille, for example, photographer Julia Pirotte participated in the storming of the Prefecture in the city and was able to document these events in detail.² In Toulouse, young photographer, Jean Dieuzaide, known professionally as 'Yan', made his reputation producing numerous images of the activities on the streets of the city in August 1944.³

The photographs that appeared in publications at this time were often imbued with a strong republican symbolism in line with what Alan Brossat refers to as the 'retour en force de la religion civil de la République'.⁴ Rebuilding a sense of the local and national community was

a key ambition of political elites in the immediate aftermath of the Liberation. It 'entailed the restoration of individuals' sense of belonging to larger (national, social, ethnic, familial) communities as well as a redefinition of the social and emotional bonds that brought them together'.⁵ Written press reports and visual accounts of the Liberation sought to privilege the role played by 'the people', echoing past glories of national insurrection and drawing on well-established understandings of France's revolutionary past by mobilising easily recognisable Republican imagery. As with the different ways the Liberation played out on a local level, this republican symbolism varied in form and emphasis. In Toulouse, for example, the communists played a key role in the resistance and there was uneasiness in the Provisional Government about their wider intentions. Often referred to as a 'République rouge', Toulouse therefore offers a fertile case study for this analysis of the visual republican narratives that circulated during the liberation. This article will focus on a corpus of photographs taken from the seven new press titles that appeared in Toulouse and the region in late August 1944 namely: *L'Espoir*, *Liberté*, *Le Patriote du Sud-Ouest*, *Vaincre*, *La Victoire*, *La Voix du Midi*, *La République du Sud-Ouest* as well as a number of commemorative publications and a photographic exhibition held in the city in October 1944.

⁶ This corpus brings to light the extent to which crowd photographs dominated local coverage of the Liberation and bears witness to an extraordinary mobilisation of populations on repeated occasions in the regional capital in August and September 1944.

In seeking to understand the significance of these crowd photographs, this article first contextualizes how the masses were viewed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and then goes on to explore the development of crowd photography across Europe and in France. The article then presents a close reading of the crowd images that circulated

in Toulouse in 1944-45. The photographs under discussion fall into three key themes which reflect the diverse ways 'the people' were identified visually in this corpus and each are examined in turn. The first of these is the amorphous crowd, the second is the people's army, and the third, a closer study of the crowd allowing for the identification of individuals. In the course of this analysis, this article argues that in mobilising familiar republican symbolism, these photographs communicated to readers and spectators an undeniable message that the power had shifted back to the Republic and the people were once again sovereign. It demonstrates that the subtext of the targeted focus on these crowds was the inference that the people of Toulouse, in embracing their republican role, were instrumental in their liberation from the Nazi occupier. This local narrative intersected with the wider national mythology of France's self-liberation that was created and promoted at this time of reconstruction and renewal.

Understanding the crowd

The French revolution had marked a transformation in understandings around the concept of the mass. 'Premodern multitudes had long been represented as elemental hordes to be shaped and subjugated from on high', ⁷ the emphasis was on their need to be tamed and controlled. After the revolution with the advent of democracy, crowds emerged as political actors and as a democratic force. This idea existed in tension with an ongoing fear of the mob in certain circles. By the end of the nineteenth century after the turbulent experiences of the Paris Commune, the industrial strikes of the Third Republic and post-Risorgimento uprisings, the masses were seen once again as incapable of representing themselves and 'biologically unfit to take charge of public affairs'. ⁸ Many, including influential crowd

psychologists like Gustave le Bon (1895) feared their power and sought to explain their behavior. Proclaiming that society was now in the 'era of crowds', he advanced that in crowds, individuals lost their conscious personality. Promoting a view that was to be mobilised later as a rationale for fascist leadership, Le Bon posited that the modern crowd is not reducible to the average of individuals that make it up, but rather sets up a chain reaction leading them to combine to form a new body which needs a leader to interpret its needs.⁹ The masses therefore came to be both a 'part of the fascist spectacle and fascism's spectatorship, they were acted upon and actors'.¹⁰ Subsequently, Walter Benjamin challenged this and 'historized the backward looking fear of the masses that had dominated the European imagination since the early nineteenth century and envisioned a public sphere in which people would recognise themselves as self-conscious producers of history'.¹¹ This notion that the crowd could act to influence the course of events as 'self-conscious producers of history' is particularly salient to this discussion. In tandem with the changing perceptions of the masses, the crowd and its representation came to be increasingly visible to the public through photojournalism.

Crowd photography became a central plank of the library of images supplied to the new illustrated press which had exploded in popularity in response to a growing public thirst for photographic images between the wars. In this way, the medium of photography 'prompted the masses to emerge as a visible substance of society'.¹² The camera was revealed to be a far from neutral conduit and the new illustrated mass media learnt to choreograph the crowd with huge repercussions for instruction and propaganda. Fascist and Nazi propagandists were accomplished in their photographic manipulations representing crowds with a skilful use of photomontage as in the work of Leni Riefenstahl.¹³ Photographic (and

filmic) representations of the magnitude of the crowds were mobilised as propaganda to depict and emphasize fascist authority. With fascism in power in Italy and Germany, the importance of engaging the people in political processes was also appreciated in France where the stakes were high on both sides of the political spectrum. In her study of the press on the extreme left and right, Jane Wardhaugh has argued that however slippery the 'people' might prove as a political concept, during the inter-war period in France, 'the press had sought not only to represent them as political actors but also to appeal to them as readers and consumers'.¹⁴ In order to achieve this, there was a growing understanding of the need to gain a certain 'literacy' in matters of photography.¹⁵ The publicists of the Popular Front, for example, mobilised photomontage to represent the 'people-nation' in ways 'which acknowledged the condition of the mass movement whilst avoiding the totalitarian aspects potential in such an image'.¹⁶ During the occupation, Pétain's propagandists circulated photographs of jubilant crowds welcoming him during his many visits to French cities to demonstrate the extent of his popularity: 'le principe d'unité du peuple derrière son chef est clairement martelé'.¹⁷ By the Liberation, the predominantly left wing resurgent French press also appears to have marshalled the lessons of these propagandists in the photographic choices they made. They disseminated images which carefully chronicled the various Republican rites that took place to confirm the transfer of power providing the, as yet, unelected provisional government authorities, important popular legitimacy. In Paris this took the form of the circulation of numerous photographic images of barricade building and gunfire in the streets, while in Marseilles, photographic imagery in the press focused predominantly on the people's insurrection. In Toulouse, on the other hand, the need to demonstrate the contribution of the people translated into the

repeated circulation of photographs depicting populations coming together to celebrate and mourn.

As elsewhere in the country, the events of the Liberation provided frequent opportunities for the people of Toulouse to gather in huge numbers to celebrate the end of the Occupation and to honour those who died in the battles to achieve it. The Germans began their withdrawal from the city during the night of 18-19 August 1944, in response to the Allied landings in Provence on 15 August. On the afternoon of the 19th resistance columns attacked the withdrawing German columns and some skirmishes took place on the outskirts. What would become the 'Matabiau group' successfully battled with the Germans present in the area of central station. By the evening of the 19 August, Toulouse was virtually liberated.¹⁸ Due to its central geographical importance, the regional commander of the FFI, Serge Ravanel had anticipated hard fighting and communicated orders for resistance groups to converge on the city from the surrounding region to ensure the city's defense. As a result, by 21 August 1944, Toulouse was submerged with an estimated 6,000 armed men.¹⁹ The multiplicity of groups and structures which descended on the city led to considerable political turmoil among the competing resistance organisations who vied for power. There was concern in provisional government circles in Algiers who feared that this put Ravanel, who had communist sympathies, in a potentially powerful position. It was not clear how these groups of armed men would be managed and the role that they should play.²⁰

In the days after the Liberation frequent parades took place on the streets of the city as the inhabitants of Toulouse came out to greet their heroes. Photographic images of this crowd

presence were carried by the city's liberation press in their editions throughout August and September 1944 and similar images were also present in all the commemorative literature examined. Reading the photographs that appeared in this corpus and exploring the ways they were disseminated offers insight into the messages presented to local communities about how they should understand the role they played in the events

Crowds as the sovereign people

Meaning making processes are articulated visually and the 'visual rhetoric' embedded in photography and reinforced in the written articles that were placed around them in the press is key to decoding the messages that the audience would have received from them. Photographs often intersect with strong patterns of identification and the photograph 'does not so much record an event as it organises a field of interpretations. They can provide important social, emotional and mnemonic resources for democratic identity, thought and action'.²¹ Historians have become increasingly alert to the value of photographs as historical sources, and historians of photography encourage us to widen the ways we think about war photography stressing that we need to see photographs as more than 'mere illustrations or records of battles'.²² Mobilizing a vocabulary borrowed from archaeology, Julie Adenay-Thomas suggests that we can only understand the meaning of a photograph by 'excavating' it, by considering 'the web of practices, commentary, and institutions surrounding it at a precise historical moment'.²³ For the ethnographer Elizabeth Edward, photographs embody patterns of meanings that shape particular responses to them. They provide 'prompts' for particular readings and for the associated reactions in those who view them.²⁴ This approach allows us to decode the images representing the huge but orderly

crowds who flocked to the town centre and amassed in central Toulouse to applaud their heroes and welcome the new authorities.

The jubilant crowd was a key characteristic of the Liberation. 'La communauté s'offre à elle-même ses propres festivités l'unité retrouvée ... Cette unité se réalise par en bas, elle est celle qui dans la chaleur fusionnelle du moment libérateur ... consacre le réinvestissement de l'espace public par les libérés agréés comme foule'.²⁵ The majority of the crowd photographs that circulated in the Toulouse press display very similar compositions. The crowd is presented, mostly static, either waiting for dignitaries to appear, or gazing up at them as they deliver speeches from the large balcony of the majestic town hall on the Place du Capitole. These wide angled, panoramic shots appear to have been taken from an elevated position behind the crowd or to its side. The mass of people tends to be completely de-individualised and is depicted as a sea of heads, or sometimes a throng of heads and bodies. This suggests that the images were chosen simply to communicate the extent of the multitude of people coming together in support, rather than to allow the reader to observe details of the individuals present. In some images only the backs of the heads of the people are reproduced and their hairstyles are not even visible. They are therefore completely anonymised; it is not even possible to make out whether they are men or women. An example of this can be seen in the edition of *Le Patriote du Sud Ouest* which appeared on 22 August 1944 (see Figure 1). On its front page, it reports on the estimated 30-40,000 cheering people who packed the central Place de la Capitole the previous day to acclaim the installation of the new republican authorities. Headlines exclaim: 'Tout pour la guerre! Toulouse entière installe son gouvernement'. Two images immediately next to this headline both show a sea of heads captioned as 'Une toute petite portion de l'immense

foule qui, hier, emplissait le centre de Toulouse ...' In the closing paragraph of the accompanying text placed just next to the image, the crowd is represented thus: 'Dans l'inoubliable après-midi qui ne veut pas finir, le peuple de Toulouse tient ainsi la rue qu'il a conquise et libérée à jamais'. The image and the caption indicates to the reader that the 'people' are to be considered as responsible for taking over the streets and liberating the city. The photograph reproduced by *Vaincre*, also on 22 August 1944, similarly represents the huge crowd placed next to the simple headline: 'Le peuple en marche'. While the crowd is actually static, the movement, figurative or otherwise suggested in the article and reflected in the photograph, suggests that the 'people' in the crowd are acting in their role as democratic political actors. Other press reports, even if not able to carry photographs, tend to describe the crowds in comparable terms presenting the vast mobilisation of local populations as full participants in the renewal of the Republic.

Insert Figure 1: Caption: Une toute petite portion de l'immense foule qui hier emplissait le centre de Toulouse, Le Patriote du Sud-Ouest, 22 Août 1944

The symbolic presence of the Republic is also evident in relation to space and location in these images. Even in cases where the crowds of people dominate and take up the majority of the frame, the photographs almost all capture details of the Place du Capitole and Toulouse's town hall heavily draped with republican tricolour flags. This clearly situates the location for the reader. This framing suggests another lesson learnt from the fascist mass panoramas which were always 'set in architectural settings which remind the viewer that the crowd portrayed is ... a national crowd, shaped by a national sense of place and tradition, and rallying around principles delimited by time and space'. ²⁶ In Toulouse's

crowd images, the town hall was particularly significant for local populations as the 'mairie' was a more important symbol of power than the regional 'prefecture' and represented a familiar Republican site for the reader.²⁷ These photographs therefore took on additional meaning because in completely filling the square, the depiction of the crowd explicitly allowed for the local collectivity to be visualised expressing their support in a well-known republican space. A notion originally developed by Pierre Nora,²⁸ it has also been commented upon more recently by Ed Welch in the context of the Charlie Hebdo attacks.²⁹ He shows that the demonstrations in the Place de la République in Paris that followed the 2015 terrorist attacks became the locus for the performance of national identity, solidarity and resistance. Similarly, in 1944-45, the Place du Capitole had resonance as a site of solidarity and republican expression for the crowds as well as for the readers who saw these images.

Unlike the crowd images discussed above which are not credited to any particular photographer, the *Bulletin Municipal* (October 1944) carries several images by local photographer Dieuzaide. His authorship is clearly identifiable by his professional name YAN. One of his most potent photographs reproduced in this publication depicts the remarkable spectacle of public mourning that took place on 22 August 1944 (see Figure 2). These mass burials were organised by the Resistance in concert with religious authorities with two key aims, "à la fois d'honorer les morts de la guerre et de mobiliser les survivants autour de victimes".³⁰ It was a way to strengthen feelings of solidarity by allowing populations to feel that they were participating and sharing in the sacrifice represented by these deaths. In this evocative photograph of the event in Toulouse, the crowd appears more disciplined than the previous day and their dark mourning attire is apparent. Dieuzaide's wide angled shot of the

ceremony appears to be taken from a height, perhaps from within the cathedral itself. The upper side of the image shows the extraordinary sight of at least ten lorry trailers carrying the 35 coffins decked with flowers, lined up on the forecourt of the St Etienne cathedral. The cobbles of the cathedral square dominate at the centre of the image. A vast empty space reflecting absence. Clustered around the other three sides of the picture, crowds appear as an indistinguishable mass of white heads and darker bodies. In the foreground of the image, a small group of clergy, including local archbishop Msr Saliège,³¹ prepare to conduct the open air ceremony. This public display of a community united in grief communicates a telling message of shared loss and shared experience. The subsequent dissemination of this image emphasises this moment as a key step towards the re-establishment of the Republican community.

Insert Figure 2: Caption: Sur le parvis de la Cathédrale St Etienne, la foule entoure les 35 cercueils des patriotes tombés pour la liberation de Toulouse Photo YAN

Without doubt the most impressive crowd photographs that circulated during these weeks are those that were taken during de Gaulle's visit in mid-September 1944. In an echo of de Gaulle's meticulously organised parade down the Champs Elysée in the capital on 26 August 1944,³² the people of Toulouse again assembled in huge numbers to welcome him. The huge jubilant crowds who turned out to greet him on these trips served the same purpose as in Paris. They literally represented the 'sovereign people' whose very presence served to anoint de Gaulle and confirm his legitimacy as the leader of the restored Republic. His visit had particular significance in the relation to the provisional government's concerns

about the potential power of local resistance organisations. It sealed the power of the Republican authorities and brought an end to the confusion that had reigned in the city.

In a presentation that varied little across the range of newspapers, De Gaulle's visit was explicitly equated with the return of the Republic and the captions, strap lines, and articles that accompany the photographs all combined explicitly to represent the crowds as the 'people', giving the reader a clear steer as to how to interpret the images. Here the crowds were once more to be read as acting in their role as 'self-conscious producers of history' and this message was strongly communicated. No less than three newspapers, *L'Espoir*, *Liberté* and *La Victoire* circulated the very same side-view photograph of the crowd in the main square greeting de Gaulle's motorcade led by his open topped car (see Figure 3). People in the buildings around the square hang out of windows and appear dangerously positioned on the awnings of shop fronts (one did collapse). Many people have their hands raised forming the V sign with their fingers. There could be no doubting their number and their enthusiasm as the headline in *L'Espoir* on 17 September 1944 makes clear: 'Toulouse accueille avec enthousiasme le Général de Gaulle: Place du Capitole, une foule innombrable acclame le Chef du gouvernement'. In this edition, the images of populations are very explicitly linked to 'Libération et Démocratie', the title of an accompanying article placed just to the left of the image. In a different presentation, *La Patriote du Sud-Ouest* (see Figure 4) on 17 September 1944 replicates the earlier shot of the population taken from the back of the packed Place du Capitole gazing up at de Gaulle as he delivered his address. Placed under the headlines 'Vive le Général de Gaulle, Vive la République Française', the photograph is captioned 'Soixante mille personnes chantent 'La Marseillaise' place du Capitole'. The force of this image comes from its depiction of these populations at last able to sing their national

anthem freely and openly, enthusiastically participating in this significant republican rite. Set in familiar surroundings, these images and headlines fed reader's imaginary notions of their own community in ways that were deliberately designed to foster a sense of belonging and underline the part played by the crowd in the return of the Republic.

Figure 3: La foule pendant la Marseillais, L'Espoir, 17 September 1944

Figure 4 : Soixante mille personnes chantent la Marseillaise, La Patriote du Sud-Ouest, 17 September 1944

Blanket press coverage of de Gaulle's visit focused not just on the rapturous cheering crowds but also revealed him greeting new local officials, and repeatedly inspecting various local FFI resistance forces. The circulation of such images was essential to underline his role as military leader as well as his position as head of the restored Republic. However, the commemorative edition of the *Bulletin Municipal* which appeared in October 1944, just weeks afterwards, makes no reference whatsoever to de Gaulle. This doubtless reflects the bitterness that ensued in the aftermath of his visit among some resisters. In response to reports about local unrest, de Gaulle was determined to re-establish order and gain recognition for his government. Away from public view, he made his authority felt and left a number of resisters, including Ravanel, feeling very confused about the lack of recognition of the role they had played.³³ It seems likely that this socialist/communist led authority comprised exclusively of representatives who had been active in the Resistance may have decided to omit de Gaulle from their account of events.³⁴ However, while de Gaulle was mistaken in believing the communist resistance forces had ambitions to seize power, there is no denying the presence of vast numbers of resistance fighters in the city. Various

denoted in the local Toulouse press as 'l'armée du peuple' or 'l'armée sans uniforme', the mass presence of these fighters received comparatively little coverage in the press at the time. While certain events and parades were reported by certain titles, they were almost never accompanied by photographs. However, on 14 October 1944 a dedicated 'FFI exhibition' was inaugurated in the city depicting the activities of these resistance forces in Paris and Toulouse.

Resistors and resistance – depicting the people's army

Unlike photographs that appeared in the press, an exhibition offers a very different viewing context. While no record appears to have survived of the precise content of this 'FFI exhibition', Dieuzaide's photographs figured as one journalist confirms: 'Cette exposition très complète retrace les épisodes des combats de rues et nous permet de revivre les heures de la libération de la Ville Rose grâce aux photos de notre confrère le reporter Yan qui prit sur le vif les épisodes de ces instants inoubliables'.³⁵ His full collection of Liberation photographs can be consulted in the city's municipal archives and they suggest that this description of their content was perhaps stretching the truth a little. The city experienced few open battles with the Germans, and those that did take place are not captured in these images. However, it is true that the collection includes compelling portraits of young FFI fighters arriving in the city, just hours after the Germans had departed the city.³⁶ The significance of the exhibition is underlined by another enthusiastic reporter: 'On ne raconte pas cela. On ne décrit pas cela. Il faut l'avoir vu pour mieux se convaincre qu'on ne brise pas un peuple comme le nôtre car il renaît des ruines et il s'arme de ses douleurs pour lutter

sans relâche jusqu'à la victoire'.³⁷ Significantly, the images record in detail the repeated parades in late August and September and the crowds that flocked to see them.

During the Occupation, as a form of display, the military parade had belonged to the occupation troops and collaborationist formations who had regularly marched through the city centre in a show of power.³⁸ The 'défilés de la victoire', that took place in the aftermath of the liberation in Toulouse as elsewhere, were therefore both a show of power and a reappropriation of the space where, days before, German troops had been parading. The parade images in Dieuzaide's collection are very different in style and composition from those of the mass crowds that appeared in the press. One taken on 22 August, the day of the mass burial, offers a close study of the parading men (See Figure 4). The two men deep in the column appear diagonally across the frame and the soldier in the foreground is blurred as he is captured in movement. The distant crowds are also out of focus though their presence is apparent. While most of the fighters look forwards purposefully, unlike the mass crowds, a couple of the men gaze in the direction of the camera perhaps because the photographer has called out to them. They are a motley crew. Most are armed and carry their rifles over their shoulders, one taller man in the middle of the image carries his arm on his shoulder thereby breaking the symmetry of the column. They are variously dressed in trousers (only one is dressed in shorts), with long sleeved white shirts rolled up to the upper arm. A number have a form of field jacket, perhaps part of a uniform. The photograph communicates movement and purpose, the men appear serious, focused on their task and are not distracted by the crowd. Despite the lack of uniform and other trappings of a regular soldier, the image suggests strongly their desire to demonstrate to onlookers that they were as organised as an army and they carry this role proudly.

Figure 5: Caption: Le Maquis arrive.... Photo YAN

If Dieuzaide's photographs tell stories of masculine force, his images also identify a large degree of feminine participation. Further photographs depict the various resistance groups parading under banners (similar to those of Julia Pirotte in Marseille). These include the Front National, for example, and the Groupe Matabiau which fought to liberate the city's main station. Women are apparent both as marching resisters and as active participants in the crowd. People can be seen enthusiastically flooding onto the streets to demonstrate their solidarity with the armed resisters, at last able to publically declare their support, keen to show where their allegiances lay at this crucial moment of regime change. Significantly, Dieuzaide's images reflect the high presence of Spanish Republicans in the city who were a key part of the Resistance there. One photograph shows Spanish 'guerilleros' parading with the Spanish republican flag on 3 September 1944. They wear the helmets of the Nazis they had killed during battles at the nearby village of Rimont which they painted blue.³⁹

Dieuzaide's photographs reflect the transnational and gendered nature of the Resistance in the city and emphasize the key contribution made by both women and the Spanish Republicans, a contribution that was largely overlooked local and national reports of the events of the liberation at the time.

Such representations of the FFI are very different from those of that circulated in Paris where the FFI forces were mainly portrayed actively battling in the streets or defending barricades. The presence of photographs depicting events that took place in Paris as well as Toulouse in the exhibition must have made this difference seem very stark. This contrast is

particularly apparent in the 2 October 1944 edition of *La République du Sud-Ouest* headlined: 'La Libération de Paris – premier reportage photographique sur l'insurrection et la libération de la capitale'. The paper dedicates over half of the front page to various action images depicting barricade building, battle scenes near the Opéra, the surrender of the German command in Paris and Leclerc's tanks in front of the Arc de Triomphe. This selection of photographs fits with the dominant cultural narrative of Paris's self-Liberation that, as in Toulouse, was supported by an iconography that drew on understandings of popular revolution to symbolize the people's participation in the resurgence of the Republic. In Paris however, this was powerfully represented in pervasive images of fighting at the barricades. The theatricality and spectacle of the barricades has been much commented, most recently by Catherine Clark who has pointed out: '...The barricades mattered ... as sites of social engagement...Barricades became places not just of the assertion of popular sovereignty, but also the construction of communal solidarity during a joyous yet uncertain time'.⁴⁰ The events in Toulouse did not produce the material for such iconic scenes of battle and surrender.

The reasons for the contrasting photographic records of Paris and Toulouse therefore lie with the different ways that the Liberation played out in both locations. While there were also calls for popular insurrection and the building of barricades in Toulouse, they were issued more symbolically than as the basis for armed action.⁴¹ Ravanel had invited the people of the city to erect barricades in his speech on 21 August 1944. This left them in no doubt about the direct parallels he drew with the revolution: 'Comme en 1793, il faut que notre peuple conquière sa liberté les armes à la main. Aux barricades ! Voilà le cri que tout Français doit pousser dans notre ville. Nous sommes libres mais les colonnes allemandes,

bousculées, traquées, sont aux portes de notre cité'.⁴² A handful of barricades were constructed but they had even less relevance to the actual battles of the Liberation than in Paris. A couple were strategically placed on the outskirts of the city to protect against German forces withdrawing from surrounding areas and did see combat,⁴³ the others were no more than a demonstration of solidarity. A few photographic images of barricades exist and were widely reproduced, but they compares unfavorably to the plethora of photographs of Parisians actively building, manning and defending barricades in the capital. Nonetheless so important was it that there should be evidence of barricades that the creators of the ill-fated film 'La Libération de Toulouse' even reconstructed scenes of barricade building so this activity would be represented.⁴⁴

The force and significance of Dieuzaide's photographs rest not just with the ways the resistance was represented by his images in the exhibition, but the fact that these images also dominated in later commemorative publications.⁴⁵ Celebrating the resistance and, in particular, representing the people's army, corresponded to a form of community building designed to foster a sense of pride and positive self-identification with the nation. It helped to build a new national unity around the myth of Resistance. This was evident the following year when his images were mobilized widely in the local press on 24 August 1945 to mark the anniversary of the Liberation. These editions also reproduced other images by the photographer which capture the moments when people first began to venture onto the streets to experience their newly gained freedom. This third photographic theme provides a more explicit symbolic visuality in relation to the actions of the 'people'. These are photographs laden with symbols and metaphors of the Republic.

Small group portraits – Enacting the Republic

This series of photographs is remarkable for the detail with which it records the behaviour of individuals in the crowds. This was a subject of interest to Dieuzaide who recorded these situations in ways which align with that of the street photographer as a *flaneur*. First brought to prominence by the poet Charles Baudelaire, the idea was also later adopted by Walter Benjamin. 'The flaneur was a journalist, writer, photographer or artist who was passionately devoted to experiencing everyday life in the great city, recording it in word or picture and presenting its essence in a constellation of signs and images that could capture its mobility and motion, the diversity of its population and the variety of its appearances...'.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Michel de Certeau has also reflected that the study of the everyday begins when the writer shifts attention to the 'ordinary man', the 'common hero'.⁴⁷ Dieuzaide's form of witness photography resembles such an approach. He does not stand apart from his subjects but appears to be one of them keeping a visual record of events as they unravel around him. What distinguishes his photographs from the press images of the mass crowds is that individuals can be clearly observed. Their clothes and hairstyles are apparent, and sometimes even their facial expressions are visible. The photographs show locals tentatively exploring the center of the city just after the departure of the Germans, and once their absence is confirmed, they rush to dismantle the German signage. This suggests their active involvement in the Liberation both actual and symbolic during this key moment of transition to the Republic.

One sequence presents a markedly telling example of republican symbolism. Originally captioned by the photographer as 'La fin d'un aigle', it was reproduced in full in the 24

August 1945 edition of *Liberté Soir* (see Figure 6). Here the Nazi eagle is a central and powerful motif. The sequence opens with a first image of the deserted Soldatenheim, the social club for German soldiers, and the Nazi eagle that stood above it. Dieuzaide later recounted how the situation unfolded. Standing outside the Soldatenheim, he saw a young man climb onto the awning of the terrace and kick down the 'aigle à croix gammée, symbole de tous nos ressentiments. Geste plein de signification, dont certains derrière leur fenêtres, saisissent tout le sens : <<ils ne sont plus là>>. ... En dix minutes, la Place ...se remplit d'une foule hétéroclite, s'attachant à détruire tout souvenir de cette noire période'.⁴⁸ The second image reveals this. Where no one was visible in front of the building in the first image, now the space is full of people. This is a well-dressed crowd, young adults of both sexes in their early twenties. They appear to be milling around, peering into the empty building, confused bystanders, shocked to see the places that the Germans once frequented now deserted. Then they notice the Nazi eagle now on the cobblestones beneath them which they stamp on, then destroy. The close up of a woman standing on the Nazi eagle evokes particularly powerful and obvious republican symbolism. It is apparent from the original that the framing of the photograph has been adjusted, cropped and enlarged to emphasize the women's lower torso in the published version (see Figure 7). The fact that her upper body is not visible anonymizes her. She is however very obviously female, and as such, she forcefully invokes a symbolism of Marianne, the embodiment of the Republic.⁴⁹ At the same time, she is simply an individual caught by the camera, a 'representative' of the sovereign people. In stamping on the Nazi eagle, her actions can be read as an emphatic account of the people's contribution to their liberation. As a symbol of Marianne, she also unambiguously represents the triumph of the Republic over Nazism.

Insert Figure 6: Caption: Square Wilson, il y a un an. Les Allemands sont partis.... Toulouse fait sa toilette, Liberté Soir Monday 20 August 1945

Insert Figure 7: Dieuzaide album of contact sheet of series 'La fin d'un aigle' (if son allows)

The actions of these individuals in the crowd therefore promotes a powerful visual story of the role played by the people of Toulouse in 'their' liberation. They perform their allegiances in a very public way, conducting themselves with an appropriate patriotic fervor. They both claim their individuality, and stand in as representatives of 'the people'. The force of these images comes from the fact that people could recognise themselves and their own experiences represented in them. As Hirsch and Spitzer have identified, 'street photos are telling objects, portraying how individuals perform their identities in public: how they inhabit public spaces and situate themselves in relation to class, cultural and gender norms'.

⁵⁰ Most importantly, in providing an effective and comprehensible short-hand to symbolize the peoples' insurrection and the people's support for, and active participation in, the return to the Republic, these photographs show individuals in the crowd acting as 'co-producers of history'.

Ways of not seeing

The three crowd themes discussed above bring to light the various forms of republican symbolism that can be read in photographs disseminated across the Toulouse area in the press and early commemorative literature during and after the Liberation. Conversely, other aspects of the crowd were deliberately kept from public view despite the fact that those present must have witnessed what went on. This bad, sinister crowd behavior was linked to

what historians refer to as the wild purges, the 'épuration sauvage' or 'mouvements de colères'. For Brossat, the actions of the 'mauvaise foule' epitomize the reverse side of the celebrating crowds who enjoyed the popular festivities : 'en faisant massivement irruption sur les places et dans les rues, se dessine une étonnante réversibilité : le peuple-foule qui célèbre son unité se raconte aussi bien en *bonne* masse ... qu'en *mauvaise*'.⁵¹ In terms of crowd theory, this kind of behavior was closer to that of the unruly mob, a violent unfurling of frustration and score settling directed against those who were seen as collaborators responsible for the dangers, difficulties and discomforts brought by the Occupation. The new authorities attempted to calm this desire for revenge and repeatedly warned against 'actes individuels' assuring locals that they would take official control of the purges and promising that the guilty parties would be punished.⁵² Nonetheless there were several examples of self-interested mob behavior including pillaging of the recently abandoned buildings that the Germans had occupied and aggression towards those individuals who were believed to have collaborated. Women were particularly vulnerable targets.

Extensive research has documented the widespread wave of violence towards collaborators including the head shaving of women accused of 'collaboration horizontale'.⁵³ In Toulouse ten women were reportedly publicly humiliated in this way.⁵⁴ Bernard Lacase recounts his experiences of the crowd's anger on 20 August at 1pm:

Je l'ai vue à l'œuvre, la foule ! Femmes, filles hagardes poursuivies, traquées, arrachées de leur gîte et traînées dans la rue, offertes à la furie, à la haine de tous : « Des complaisantes ! » avait-on dit. Mais cette enfant, d'à peine quinze ans, toute nue, tirée par les cheveux par une mégère qui n'avait, paraît-il, à se reprocher que le libertinage de sa mère !⁵⁵

Dieuzaide has since also conceded that he witnessed such behavior, but pointedly refused to photograph it, thereby omitting it from the historical photographic record. He later wrote: 'Les lendemains de la Libération ne se passèrent pas sans un certain désordre: femmes tondues, ficelées sur le toit d'une voiture conduit par des hommes offrant un martinet aux passant souhaitant les flageller, où autres scènes ignobles, dégradantes pour l'homme, et que je me suis refusé de photographier'.⁵⁶ Few photographs survive taken by French onlookers and the dissemination of photographs of *femmes tondues* was rare at the time.⁵⁷ This kind of self-censorship in relation to the Liberation when less positive images of crowd behavior were either not photographed or omitted from public view was replicated across the country. The circulation of such images would not have served to show populations, or members of the Resistance behaving in a positive light. Therefore, the images that circulated in Toulouse, as in Paris or Marseille, excluded those of crowds participating in head shaving, jeering at collaborators, mistreating German prisoners, or pillaging and engaging in patterns of behavior that were deemed to be negative. These images did not fit with the representation of the crowd fulfilling its democratic role in line with the return to the Republic. This focus on the positive aspects of crowd behavior suggests a deliberate effort to lionize the people in ways that would serve to evacuate and excise stories of collaboration.

Conclusions

Photographs of the jubilant crowds provided a positive and familiar trope for spectators. Imbued with a symbolic importance relating to the return of the Republic, these images provided a visual text of the mythic moment of deliverance and national transformation in

which the people had played a part. The very anonymity of the people portrayed however raises telling questions. Were these cheering crowds comprised of the same individuals who had also come to greet Pétain on his visits? Were people seeking to publically position their allegiances appropriately in the light of the changed political context? For one local journalist, the events of the Liberation brought to the fore 'l'authentique foule française, qui n'oublie jamais ce qu'elle sait et peut à la fois plaisanter, chanter, gronder et se battre'.⁵⁸ Is the suggestion here that the previous crowds were somehow inauthentic? The potential fickleness of the crowd did not escape the attention of another key contemporary observer, Pierre Bertaux, Commissaire de la République in Toulouse. Having discussed this question with de Gaulle during his visit, he reported his thinking in his own account of the Liberation of the city. He eventually drew the conclusion that the crowd could have comprised different individuals in each context. 'La foule, impressionnante, n'est pas <la masse> avec laquelle on tend à la confondre. Elle n'en est que la figuration ; et il n'est pas inconcevable qu'une nation ait assez de ressources pour, sur la même scène, faire apparaître selon les circonstances deux équipes différentes de figurants de l'histoire, l'une prenant la relève de l'autre'.⁵⁹ Photographs alone do not allow for much clarification of this question. An exhibition organized by the municipality in Nancy in 1997 on the experiences of the Occupation in the city brings this to light in a potent way. In the final panel of the exhibition, the curators placed photos of Pétain's visit to the city on 24 May 1944 next to those of de Gaulle's visit some weeks later on 25 September 1944. There is no discernible difference between these images: 'les photographies montrent exactement la même chose: une place noire de monde, des "gestes de liesse" envers un homme s'adressant aux Nacéiens du balcon de l'Hôtel de Ville'.⁶⁰

At first glance, one crowd photograph can look much like another, but as this discussion has demonstrated, it is the way they are framed, captioned and the articles that appear with them that signal the key messages readers were encouraged to draw from them. This study of a corpus of photographs of Toulouse has allowed us to identify a visual vocabulary adapted to local circumstances in ways that was designed to allow spectators to relate to, and identify with, the events of their city. The reproduction and dissemination of photographs blended with articles and text highlight the efforts made by the press to promote these messages to their readers.⁶¹ In order to be effective, readers needed to recognise themselves in these images, and be equipped to read the symbols embedded in them. To achieve this, whether they represented images of the crowds as a cheering mass, or the parades of the people's army or indeed the actions of individuals within the crowd, these photographs all reference the sovereign people in a vision that effectively transformed locals into political actors, into 'co-producers of history'.

While testimony and diaries record subjective reflections and private experience, photos taken in urban spaces bear witness to public acts and encounters.⁶² Jennifer Tucker posits that 'street photographs ... illustrate the power of photography for documenting historic events acted out in public spaces, for testing the boundaries of ownership of public urban spaces, and for injecting new voices into public conflicts over who belongs in which streets, and on what terms.'⁶³ Welch also reminds us that the photographic image helps us to grasp the nature of space, and the role of visual mediation in shaping the perception, construction and understanding of history.⁶⁴ Newspaper editors and photographers of the Liberation sought to solicit a sense of participation, and engage readers to rebuild their local, regional and national communities. If barricade building was important for widening the participants

beyond the ranks of organised resistance in Paris, putting the crowds centre stage as representing the people rallying to the new authorities in Toulouse was a similar strategy. The images of enthusiastic crowds welcoming de Gaulle in Toulouse were as effective on a local level as they were in Paris. Riera and Schaffer have commented on how countries needed to foster a sense of post-war common purpose and to find a consensual narrative.⁶⁵ Photography drew on a familiar national symbolism to communicate that message. So effective were these messages that this powerful and durable cultural narrative of France's self-liberation continues to dominate popular memory despite extensive scholarly reevaluations.⁶⁶

¹ The major exhibition held at the Musée Carnavalet in Paris was just one of the many that took place both in the capital and around the country.

² Hanna Diamond and Claire Gorrara, « Reframing War : Histories and Memories of the Second World War in the Photography of Julia Pirotte” *Modern and Contemporary France*, 20, 4 (2012) 453-471

³ Called up by the compulsory labour draft in late 1943, Dieuzaide headed the “Service photographique et cinématographique du Groupement regional Pyrénées Gascogne des Chantiers de Jeunesse’ directed by General Gèze. On the morning of 19 August, he collected his camera from his office and set out to create a photographic account of everything he

would witness throughout that day, and in the days and weeks that followed. His privileged access to a camera enabled him to carry out this task. I am grateful to Madame Jacqueline Dieuzaide for allowing me access to Jean Dieuzaide's personal collection and to the Mairie de Toulouse for allowing me to reproduce them (I hope).

⁴ Alain Brossat, *Libération fête folle* (Paris : Autrement, 1994) 33

⁵ Frank Beiss and Robert Moeller, eds., *Histories of the Aftermath: The legacies of the Second World War in Europe* (New York: Berghahn, 2010) 7

⁶ The press covered a range of predominantly left leaning opinion : *L'Espoir* (socialist), *Liberté* (socialist revolutionary), *Le Patriote du Sud-Ouest* (communist tendency), *Vaincre* (interior resistance/FFI), *La Victoire* (MRP), *La Voix du Midi* (official communist), *La République du Sud-Ouest* (MLN) see Pierre Gérard, 'La presse à la Libération dans la région de Toulouse' in ed. Rolande Trempé, *La Libération dans le midi de la France* (Toulouse : Eché Editeur & Service des Publications UTM, 1986) 331-345. In October 1944, the Municipal council of Toulouse produced a special commemorative issue of their municipal bulletin, *Bulletin Municipal Numéro Spécial consacré à la Libération. Toulouse délivré* is an undated commemorative issue. The photographic exhibition focused on the role of FFI in the Liberation in Paris and Toulouse.

⁷ J.T. Schnapp, & M. Tiews, *Crowds* (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 2006) 2

⁸ Schnapp, *Crowds*, 73

⁹ Gustave Le Bon, *La psychologie des foules* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France. 2013)

¹⁰ Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle : The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley, London : University of California Press, 1997) 25

¹¹ Stefan Jonsson, *Crowds and democracy: the idea and image of the masses from revolution to fascism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013) 210

¹² Jonsson, *Crowds and democracy: the idea and image of the masses from revolution to fascism*, 212

¹³ See Leni Riefenstahl's 'Triumph of the Will' for example.

¹⁴ Jessica Wardhaugh, 'Crowds, culture and power: mass politics and the press in interwar France', *Journalism Studies* 14: 5 (2013) 743-758, here 745

¹⁵ French news magazines like *Vu*, founded by Lucien Vogel in 1928 inspired by the photographic techniques of the illustrated magazines in the Weimar Republic revolutionised the French news press. Similarly, the communist magazine *Regards* 'devient l'un des premiers supports français dans lequel la photographie peut se mettre au service du communisme. ... le périodique offre un nouvel espace cohérent pour faire de la photographie une arme utilitaire. ... Il s'agit d'interpeller le lecteur et d'arriver à une compréhension immédiate en mêlant histoire des événements et imaginaire de la création'. Gaëlle Morel, « Du peuple au populisme : Les couvertures du magazine communiste *Regards* (1932-1939) » *Etudes Photographiques*, 9, 2000-1, 44-63, here 46

¹⁶ Simon Dell, *The Image of the Popular Front: The Masses and the Media in Interwar France*, (New York, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 67

¹⁷ Françoise Denoyelle, *La photographie d'actualité et de propagande sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris : CNRS Editions, 2003) 152

¹⁸ José Cubero, *La Résistance à Toulouse et dans la Région 4* (Toulouse : Editions Sud-Ouest, 2005)

¹⁹ Cubero, *La Résistance à Toulouse*, 362

²⁰ 'Des groups, parquent encore, circulent sans raison dans les rares automobiles et brûlent sans but précis une essence précieuse', Cubero, *La Résistance à Toulouse et dans la Région 4*, 367

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- ²¹ Robert Hariman and Jean-Louis Lucaites, "Liberal representation and the global order: the iconic photograph from Tiananmen Square" in ed. Lawrence J Prelli, *Rhetorics of Display* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2006) 90-121, here 122
- ²² Tom Allbeson and Pippa Oldfield, "War, Photography, Business: New Critical Histories" *Journal of War and Culture studies*, 9, 2(2016) 94–114, here 97
- ²³ Julia Adenay Thomas, "The Evidence of Sight", *History and Theory* 48, 4, (2009) 151-168, here 160
- ²⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories, Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) 13-16
- ²⁵ Brossat, *Libération fête folle*, 42
- ²⁶ Schnapp, *Crowds*, 20
- ²⁷ Michel Goubet and Paul Desbauges, *Histoire de la Résistance: Haute-Garonne* (Toulouse: Editions Milan, 1986) 215
- ²⁸ Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory* vol 2 Space 1984
- ²⁹ Ed Welch and John Perivolaris, "The Place of the Republic: Space, territory and identity around and after Charlie Hebdo", *French Cultural Studies*, 27, 3 (2016) 279-292
- ³⁰ Luc Capdevila and Danièle Voldman, "Rituels funéraires des sociétés en guerre (1914-1945)" in (eds.) Stephane Audoin-Rouzeau, Annette Becker, Christian Ingrano, Henri Rousso, *La Violence de Guerre 1914-1945. Approches comparatives des deux conflits mondiaux*, (Bruxelles/Paris, Complexe IHTP/CNRS, 2002) 289-311, here 293-294
- ³¹ Saliège
- ³² François Audigier, 'De Gaulle descendant les Champs-Élysées, le 26 août 1944. De l'image au lieu de mémoire', in *Les médias et la Libération en Europe 1945 – 2005* eds., Christian Delporte and Denis Maréchal (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006) 387-403, here 387

³³ Serge Ravanel, *L'Esprit de la Résistance*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1995)

³⁴ He was also omitted from the film of the Liberation in Toulouse apart from his presence on the desk of Pierre Bertaux.

³⁵ *La Victoire*, 16 October 1944

³⁶ The earliest of which dates from 19 August 1944.

³⁷ *Le Patriote du Sud-Ouest*, 16 October 1944

³⁸ See for example Germain Chaubel's photographs of Pétain's visit to the city on 14 June 1942 and the parades by the Service d'Ordre Légionnaire in José Cubero, *Toulouse et la Haute-Garonne dans la Guerre* (Pau: Editions Cairn, 2013) 142-143

³⁹ Mairie de Toulouse, *La Libération de Toulouse*, 46

⁴⁰ Catherine E Clark 'Capturing the Moment, Picturing History: Photographs of the Liberation of Paris', *The American Historical Review*, 121, 3 (2016) 824–860, here 833-834

⁴¹ For Cubero, the calls for insurrection in *La Voix du Midi* were more about 'rénovation social' than defending the city from the occupier. Cubero, *La Résistance à Toulouse et dans la Région 4*, 394

⁴² Pierre Bertaux, *Libération de Toulouse et de sa région* (Toulouse: Hachette, 1973).

⁴³ Nonetheless 36 resistance fighters gave their lives in these battles defending the city.

⁴⁴ Information about the film of the Liberation of Toulouse. See Claudette Peyrusse.

'Toulouse libérée 1944 : Film de la radio libre et de la République rouge de Toulouse', *Midi-Pyrénées Patrimoine*, Supplément, (2009) 2-15

⁴⁵ They were reproduced in the October 1944 *Bulletin Municipal*, and the same images also appeared on the front page of the anniversary edition of *Liberté-Soir* (Monday 20 August 1945).

⁴⁶ Jonsson, *Crowds and democracy: the idea and image of the masses from revolution to fascism*, 146

⁴⁷ Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984)

⁴⁸ Jean Dieuzaide, '19 août 1944 : mes "premières armes" de photographe' in Mairie de Toulouse, *La Libération de Toulouse : Fragments de mémoires* (Toulouse : Imprimerie Ménard, 2004) 7-10, here 9.

⁴⁹ For discussion of the links between Marianne and the Republic see Maurice Agulon, *Marianne au combat. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979)

⁵⁰ Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, "Incongruous Images: "Before, during, and after" the Holocaust" *History and Theory*, 48, 4, (2009) 9-25, here 14

⁵¹ Brossat, *Libération fête folle*, 43

⁵² *Bulletin Municipal*, 1944, 78

⁵³ Fabrice Virgili, *La France virile: Des femmes tondues à la libération* (Paris: Payot, 2004)

⁵⁴ Cubero, *La Résistance à Toulouse*, 364

⁵⁵ Raymond Lacase, *Qu'on me pardonne d'en parler...* (Toulouse : Editions Subervie, 1958) 12

⁵⁶ Dieuzaide, 19 août 1944, 10

⁵⁷ Most of the photographs depicting these events which took place across the country were taken by Allied photographers. For discussion of this see Claire Gorrara, forthcoming.

⁵⁸ *Le Patriote du Sud-Ouest*, 22 August 1944

⁵⁹ Bertaux, *Libération de Toulouse*, 89

⁶⁰ Nicholas Mariot, « Foules en liesse et "maréchalisme" des populations », *Sociétés et Représentations*, 2001/1 (12) 143 - 159, here 153

⁶¹ Gerard has pointed out how the new liberation press in Toulouse wanted to be in service of the 'collectivité nationale' and was keen to encourage its readers to participate in France's reconstruction. Gérard, *La presse à la Libération dans la région de Toulouse*, 343.

⁶² Hirsch, *Incongruous Images*, 22

⁶³ Tucker, J., 'Eye on the street: Photography in urban public spaces' *Radical History Review*, 114, (2012) 7-18, here 11.

⁶⁴ Welch, *The Place of the Republic*, 281

⁶⁵ Monica Riera and Gavin Schaffer, eds. *The Lasting War: Society and Identity in Britain, France and Germany after 1945*, (xxxx: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) 7

⁶⁶ Dieuzaide's photographs have continued to be those that represent Toulouse's liberation experience since the war.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/toulousefr/sets/72157646472980206/> (Downloaded on 21 November 2017)